

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-07 USIE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

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DHA-02 AID-05 PC-01 TRSE-00 OMB-01 OPR-02 /092 W

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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2397

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 2414

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, CG

SUBJECT: SHABA INVASION: GOZ PROPOSES TO REQUEST OAU INVESTIGATION

1. SUMMARY: ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT PROPOSES TO FORMALLY REQUEST OAU TO SEND AFRICAN INVESTIGATION TEAM TO SHABA FOR PURPOSE OF (A) VERIFYING GOZ CHARGES THAT ARMED AGGRESSION TAKING PLACE AGAINST ZAIRE FROM ANGOLA AND (B) CONTROLLING FLOW OF MEN AND SUPPLIES ACROSS BORDER. IF MILITARY SITUATION SHOULD DETERIORATE (E.G. ATTACK ON KOLWEZI) BEFORE OAU CAN ACT, GOZ WOULD ENVISION APPEALING TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL. GOZ URGENTLY REQUESTS REACTION AND ADVICE OF US, BELGIAN AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS BEFORE TAKING ACTION. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER NGUZA CALLED ME IN AT NOON TODAY MARCH 17 TOGETHER WITH BELGIAN AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS. AFTER CONVEYING PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S DEEP APPRECIATION FOR OUR GOVERNMENTS' ASSISTANCE, HE SAID PRESIDENT AND HE HAD SPENT MUCH OF THE MORNING CONSIDERING DIPLOMATIC OPTIONS FOR STOPPING THE SHABA INVASION. THEY HAD CONCLUDED TIME HAD COME TO SEEK INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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GATION/OBSERVATION EITHER BY OAU OR UN. HE NOTED THAT LUANDA CLAIMS PROBLEM IS STRICTLY A ZAIRIAN AFFAIR AND ANGOLA NOT INVOLVED. GOZ, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS CHARGED THAT ZAIRE IS VICTIM OF ARMED AGGRESSION FROM ANGOLA. PURPOSE OF INVESTIGATION WOULD BE TO DETERMINE WHO IS RIGHT; SPECIFICALLY, WHERE ARE INVADORS COMING FROM, WHO IS ARMING AND SUPPLYING THEM, WHO IS SERVING AS THEIR CADRES. NOT ONLY WOULD INTERNATIONAL TEAM DE-

TERMINE THESE FACTS, BUT IT WOULD ALSO OBSERVE (AND THEREBY CONTROL) FLOW OF MEN AND EQUIPMENT AT KEY BORDER CROSSING POINTS.

3. GOZ ENVISAGES INVESTIGATION TEAM OF AFRICANS DRAWN FROM SIX DIFFERENT COUNTRIES; THREE DESIGNATED BY ZAIRE, THREE DESIGNATED BY ANGOLA. EACH COUNTRY WOULD FURNISH FIVE MILITARY OFFICERS, MAKING TOTAL TEAM OF 30. IN ADDITION, IF UNDER UN RATHER THAN OAU AUSPICES TWO OR MORE "NEUTRAL NON-AFRICANS" (E.G. FROM SCANDINAVIA) MIGHT ALSO PARTICIPATE. TEAM MEMBERS WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO BOTH SIDES OF THE FRONTIER, CHECKING BORDER TRAFFIC AT KEY CROSSING POINTS SUCH AS DILOLO AND LUASHI, BUT WITH SUFFICIENT MOBILITY TO CIRCULATE IN OTHER AREAS AS WELL.

4. NGUZA SAID HE AND PRESIDENT HAD PONDERED WHICH OF TWO ROUTES TO TAKE: OAU OR UNSC. FORMER HAD ADVANTAGE OF PURSUING INITIAL STEPS ALREADY TAKEN TO BUILD UP DIPLOMATIC PRESSURES IN AFRICAN FRAMEWORK, BUT DISADVANTAGE OF BEING RELATIVELY SLOW AND SOMETIMES CUMBERSOME PROCESS WITH NO ASSURANCE OF PRODUCING EFFECTIVE INVESTIGATION. UN SECURITY COUNCIL, ON THE OTHER HAND, HELD PROSPECT OF FASTER ACTION BUT RISKED SOVIET VETO.

5. AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF BOTH OPTIONS, NGUZA TOLD US HE WISHED TO PROCEED AS FOLLOWS: GOZ WOULD MOVE AHEAD IMMEDIATELY WITH PREPARATIONS TO MAKE FORMAL REQUEST TO OAU TO SPONSOR INVESTIGATION ALONG LINES OUTLINED ABOVE. IDEA WOULD BE TO FORMALLY SEIZE OAU PRESIDENT, SEC GEN AND PRESIDENT OF MINISTERIAL COUNCIL (NGUZA CLAIMED GOZ HAD TO DATE ONLY "INFORMED" OAU OF PROBLEM) AND TO ASK LATTER -- WHO IS TOGOLESE FOREIGN MINISTER -- TO CONSULT URGENTLY WITH OTHER MEMBERS WITH A VIEW TO CONFIDENTIAL

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SETTING UP TEAM WITHIN BRIEF, FIXED TIME FRAME. IF THIS EFFORT BOGGED DOWN, OR IF THE MILITARY SITUATION REACHED MORE SERIOUS PROPORTIONS, GOZ WOULD HAVE OPTION OF ABANDONING OAU TRACK AND TURNING TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL FOR FASTER ACTION. IN DOING SO, GOZ WOULD HAVE STRENGTHENED ITS POSITION BY AT LEAST TRYING THE OAU BEFORE RESORTING TO THE UN.

6. NGUZA SAID THAT, WHILE GOZ WOULD IMMEDIATELY START PREPARATIONS FOR APPEAL TO OAU, IT WISHED TO HAVE THE ADVICE AND SUGGESTIONS OF US, BELGIAN AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS BEFORE TAKING ANY ACTION. PERHAPS, HE SAID, THERE WERE IDEAS OR PITFALLS HE HAD NOT CONSIDERED. HE STRESSED URGENCY OF MOVING AHEAD JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE AGREED TO CONVEY GOZ'S PLANS TO OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS AND RETURN TO HIM SOONEST WITH WHATEVER REACTIONS WE HAD.

7. COMMENT: IT WAS EVIDENT FROM NGUZA'S PRESENTATION, OUR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION AND BRIEF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION I HAD WITH MOBUTU ON THIS MATTER PRIOR TO OUR MEETING, THAT GOZ HAS NOT YET

FORMULATED ITS COURSE OF ACTION AND IS SOMEWHAT UNSURE WHICH WAY TO MOVE. HENCE THE ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS WITH FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS IN HOPES THAT WE MIGHT PROVIDE HELPFUL GUIDANCE RE BOTH THE OAU AND UN OPTIONS. FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT FIRST PLUGGED HARD FOR GOING STRAIGHT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION CAME AROUND TO FAVORING CONSIDERATION OF OAU ACTION AT LEAST AS FIRST STEP. MY OWN VIEW, FROM LIMITED PERSPECTIVE HERE, IS THAT IT MAKES SENSE TO GET STARTED ON THE OAU TRACK BEARING IN MIND THIS MAY NOT PRODUCE USEFUL, RAPID RESULTS AND THAT DEVELOPMENTS MAY ULTIMATELY LEAD US TOWARD UN. I NOTED TO NGUZA PROBABILITY THAT IN ANY INTERNATIONAL FORUM ANGOLANS, IN ADDITION TO STICKING TO THEIR CLAIM THAT SHABA WAS ENTIRELY ZAIRIAN PROBLEM, MIGHT WELL PULL OUT DOSSIER OF ALLEGED ZAIRIAN VIOLATIONS OF ANGOLAN TERRITORY (OPERATION COBRA 77, ETC.). NGUZA ACKNOWLEDGED GOZ WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED FOR THAT, ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT IN CASE OF SHABA TO HAVE AS MUCH HARD EVIDENCE AS POSSIBLE OF ANGOLAN OR OTHER FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT.

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8. ACTION REQUESTED: THAT DEPARTMENT PROVIDE ME ASAP WITH WHATEVER VIEWS WE WISH TO PASS TO GOZ. I HAVE AGREED WITH MY BELGIAN AND FRENCH COLLEAGUES THAT, ONCE WE HAVE RESPECTIVE VIEWS, IN HAND, WE WILL GET TOGETHER BEFORE GOING BACK TOGETHER TO NGUZA. DEPT MAY THEREFORE WISH TO COORDINATE WITH THOSE GOVERNMENTS IN PREPARING RESPONSE.

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Message Attributes

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